

創価大学
国際仏教学高等研究所
年 報

平成24年度
(第16号)

Annual Report
of
The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
at Soka University

for the Academic Year 2012

Volume XVI

創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所
東京・2013・八王子

The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
Soka University
Tokyo・2013

A Study of the Language of Early Chinese Buddhist Translations: A Comparison between the Translations by Lokakṣema and Zhi Qian *

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Abstract:

There are seven Chinese translations of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, of which the *Daoxing Banre¹ jing* 道行般若經, translated in 179 C.E., by Lokakṣema is the oldest, followed by the translations by Zhi Qian (fl. ca. 220~257 C.E.), Zhu Fonian (translated in 382 C.E.), Kumārajīva (translated in 408 C.E.) and so on. Being not well-versed in Classical Chinese, Lokakṣema used many vernacular words and expressions in his translations of Buddhist scriptures inadvertently. In contrast to him, Zhi Qian, who was born in China and a master of Classical Chinese, seems to have just "sinicised" Lokakṣema's translation. Zhu Fonian, however, merely copied Lokakṣema's translation and just replaced old-fashioned, vernacular words and expressions in it. Therefore, in this respect, if we focus on how these translators modified Lokakṣema's translation, we are able to trace the changes and developments of the Chinese language from the Eastern Han to the Jin Dynasty.

In 2010, I published *A Glossary of Lokakṣema's Translation of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* 道行般若經詞典,² a glossary of the *Daoxing Banre jing* 道行般若經 by Lokakṣema (Lk). I selected approximately 1500 words from this translation, focussing on vernacular expressions, Middle Chinese words and usages, semantic peculiarities, Buddhist technical terminology and transliterations. Each entry word was then compared with its parallels in the Sanskrit (the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, abbr. AS) and Tibetan versions as well as Chinese parallels found in the six later versions of the same scripture by five eminent translators, namely Zhi Qian 支謙 (ZQ), Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (Zfn), Kumārajīva =

* I am very grateful to Peter Lait and Ms. Liang Ye Tan, who went to great trouble to check my English and to Jonathan Silk, who read through my draft and offered many useful suggestions.

¹ 般若 (EH. pan nja:), though pronounced in various ways such as *bo re*, *ban ruo* or *ban re*, should be pronounced *ban re*, due to its being originally a transliteration of the Gāndhārī form *prañā* and not that of Skt. *prajñā*. It is probable that the pronunciation *bo re* was a later artificial one, invented in the Tang Period by a Sanskritist who had no knowledge of Middle Indic.

² Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University (Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica XI) (downloadable at the following website: http://iriab.soka.ac.jp/orc/Publications/BPPB/index_BPPB.html).

Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什 (Kj), Xuanzang 玄奘 (Xz) and Dānapāla = Shihu 施護 (Sh). In this article, the translations are labelled with the abbreviations of the translators' names. For example, Lokakṣema (Lk)'s translation is also designated as "Lk".

Their translations of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* are:

Lk = *Daoxing Banre jing* 道行般若經 (T. 8, no. 224), translated by Lokakṣema in 179 C.E.

ZQ = *Da Mingdu jing* 大度明經 (T. 8, no. 225), translated by Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. ca. 220~257 C.E.)³

Zfn = *Mohebanre chao jing* 摩訶般若鈔經 (T. 8, no. 226), translated by Tanmopi 曇摩婢 or Dharmapriya and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念⁴ during the Former Qin Dynasty 前秦 (351~394 C.E.)

Kj = *Xiaopin Banreboluomi jing* 小品般若波羅蜜經 (T. 8, no. 227), translated by Kumārajīva in 408 C.E.

Xz(I) = The fourth assemblage (第四會) of the *Da Banreboluomi jing* 大般若波羅蜜經 (T. 7, no. 220, pp. 763~865), translated by Xuanzang 玄奘 in 660~663 C.E.

Xz(II) = The fifth assemblage (第五會) of the above-mentioned translation by Xuanzang (T. 7, no. 220, pp. 865~920)

Sh = *Fomu Chusheng Sanfazang Banreboluomiduo jing* 佛母出生三法藏般若波羅蜜多經 (T. 8, no. 228), translated by Shihu 施護 or Dānapāla in 982~984? C.E.

As Lokakṣema and these Chinese translators were, in fact, all the foremost representative translators of their particular respective times, the glossary allows us to observe the changes and developments of the language in Chinese Buddhist literature from one age to the next. To cite just a few examples of such developments from the *Glossary*:

弊魔 "Māra, the Evil One"

Lk.434a11. 晝夜弊魔常索佛便，常亂世間人。

AS.39.20 = R.78.16 = AAA.243.22. *Māra~ pāpīyas~* ("Māra, the Evil One"); ZQ.484c7. 邪; Zfn.516a20.-; Kj.544a11. 魔; Xz(I).778b27. 惡魔; Xz(II).875b28. 惡魔; Sh.599b9. 諸魔衆

本無 "nothingness; non-existence; non-existent; absolutely does not exist"

Lk.449c29. 怛薩阿竭知色之本無。如知色本無，痛痒、思想、生死、識亦爾。

AS.134.12 = R.271.3 = AAA.557.9. *tathatā* ("Suchness"); ZQ.491c23. 本無; Zfn.-; Kj.558b10. 如; Xz(I).816c4. 眞如; Xz(II).893c17. 眞如; Sh.631b15. 如

當來 "future, in the future"

Lk.431c28. 過去、當來、今現在佛、天中天皆爲人中尊，悉於其中作佛。

AS.28.19 = R.56.11 = AAA.206.14. *-anāgata-* ("future"); ZQ.484a8. 當來; Zfn.514b7. 當來; Kj.542b12. 未來; Xz(I).774c6. 未來; Xz(II).873b8. (三世);

³ Jan Nattier (Nattier 2008: 136f.) has pointed out that both the vocabulary and style in the first chapter, *Xingpin* 行品, of the *Da Mingdu jing* differ considerably from those in the other chapters of the same text and other translations by Zhi Qian. Therefore, this chapter seems to have been translated by somebody else.

⁴ The *Mohebanre chao jing* is traditionally attributed to Dharmapriya and Zhu Fonian, an attribution questioned by many scholars. Some consider it to have been translated by Dharmarakṣa. However, the vocabulary and style in this translation do not agree with Dharmarakṣa's other translations. Further investigation is therefore needed to clarify its attribution.

Sh.595c22. 未來

都盧 “all, the whole; (not) at all” (This vernacular expression, being a rhyming compound (*dulu*), occurs twenty times in Lk, though the later translators replaced it with other expressions)

Lk.436b10. 釋提桓因言：“但行般若波羅蜜，不行餘波羅蜜耶？”佛言：“都盧六波羅蜜皆行，菩薩、摩訶薩。般若波羅蜜於菩薩、摩訶薩最尊。……”

AS.51.13 = R.100.21 = AAA.280.20. *sarva*~ (“all”); ZQ.485c11. 皆; Zfn.518a22. 悉; Kj.545c24. 皆; Xz(I).783a3. 具; Xz(II).878c11. 具; Sh.603a9. 皆

(1) Comparison between the *Daoxing Banre jing* 道行般若經 and the other translations of the same text

It is important to be aware of and pay proper attention to the fact that, in general, later Chinese Buddhist translators consulted pre-existing Chinese translations and borrowed expressions from them with slight modifications. In the context of the present paper, I would like to focus on the fact that, in Zhi Qian's *Da Mingdu jing* 大明度經, Zhu Fonian's *Mohebanre chao jing* 摩訶般若鈔經 and Kumārajīva's *Xiaopin Banreboluomi jing* 小品般若波羅蜜經, there are traces of Lokakṣema's *Daoxing Banre jing* 道行般若經, the first Chinese translation of the same text.

Since he was not well-versed in Classical Chinese, Lokakṣema used many vernacular words and expressions as well as transliterations in his translation in a fashion that reveals his less than total control. Also, we can find many examples where he translated the original Indian text, which was transmitted most probably in Gāndhārī, into Chinese, merely by following the order of the words in the original text. Thus, his translation is basically word-for-word, very literal and rudimentary. In contrast to him, Zhi Qian, who was born in China but had never been India, seems to have had a rather poor knowledge of Indian languages and therefore, there are many strange translations by him, providing evidence that he often mixed up Sanskrit, Gāndhārī and other Middle Indic or Prakrit terms. However, as he was born and educated in China, he was a master of Classical Chinese and could write in an intellectual manner, thus avoiding vernacular expressions and coarse transliterations. Therefore, the Chinese language in his translation is quite natural and readable. There are many cases which suggest that he did not always consult the original Indian text, but merely "sinicised" Lokakṣema's translation. Zhu Fonian, in his turn, basically copied Lokakṣema's translation, only replacing old-fashioned, vernacular words and expressions. For example, we may compare the following sentences listed in chronological order:

Lk. 正使是輩行菩薩道者，我代其喜，我終不斷功德法。我使欲取中正尊法，正欲使上佛。(No. 224, 429a23f.)

ZQ. 正使是輩求者，我代其喜，不斷功德也。悉欲使取經中極尊法，使上至佛。(No. 225, 482b14f.)

Zfn. 正使是輩人索菩薩道，我亦勸助之，不斷其功德。悉使取法中極尊，欲使極上佛。(No. 226, 511c26f.)

Kj. 是人若發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心，我亦隨喜。終不斷其功德。所以者何？上人應求上法。(No. 227, 540a19f.)

Adapting or modifying pre-existing translations was quite a common practice in the history of Chinese Buddhist translations. I suspect that there are many such modified works, especially among Zhi Qian's translations. For example, his translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*, the *Weimojie jing* 維摩詰經 (T. 14, no. 474) is the oldest extant translation. However, according to the catalogues of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, namely the *Lidai Sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 and *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄,⁵ there was an older translation of the scripture by Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調 in the Eastern Han Dynasty, which is now lost. It is probable that Zhi Qian's translation is none other than a modification of this older translation.⁶

A similar relationship is seen between the two oldest Chinese translations of the so-called *Sukhāvattvyūha*⁷, namely the (*Da*) *Amituo jing* (大)阿彌陀經 (T. 12, no. 362)⁸ and the *Wuliangqingjing Pingdengjue jing* 無量清淨平等覺經 (T. 12, no. 361). When comparing these two translations, one soon notices that they are generally identical. While the differences between them are not very great, they are quite striking. For instance, where *ji* 即 is used throughout the former, *ze* 則 is used throughout the latter; transliterations such as *Amituo* 阿彌陀 (**Amitāha* < *Amitābha*), *Louyigenluo* 樓夷亘羅 (*Lokeśvara*), 曇摩迦 (*Dharmākara*) are used in the former, while, in the latter, the translations *Wuliangqingjing* 無量清淨, *Shiraowang* 世饒王, *Baozang* 寶藏 are found; the former consists solely of prose, while the latter contains verses as well; the order of the vows made by *Dharmākara* in the former differs from the other versions, while, in the latter, this order is similar to the other

⁵ T. 49, no. 2034, 34a9, 54a14, 57a22f. and T. 55, no. 2154, 483a14, 429a5, respectively.

⁶ As the Older *Weimojie jing* 古維摩詰經 by Yan Fotiao is neither referred to in the much earlier catalogues nor in earlier literature, some modern scholars doubt its existence, e.g. Lamotte 1994: xci. This argument is, in my opinion, far-fetched and not very convincing. In the *Lidai Sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀, 57a21f., Zhi Qian's *Weimojie jing* 維摩詰經 is described as follows: “*Weimojie Suoshuo Busiyi Famen jing* 維摩詰所說不思議法門經, three *juans*. It is also entitled *Foshuo Purudaomen jing* 佛說普入道門經. Or (it consists of) two *juans*. This is the second translation (of the text), differing a little from the (first) translation by Yan Fotiao in the Later Han Dynasty. References (to this) are found in Zhu Daozu (竺道祖)'s *Wei Wulu* 魏吳錄 and *Sanzangji* 三藏記.” Therefore, as one can see, this account tells us that Zhi Qian's translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* is a modification of Yan Fotiao's translation of the same text.

⁷ I add “so-called”, because, as I have demonstrate elsewhere (Karashima 2010: 34f.), this sutra originally had the title *Amitābhavyūha*, *Amitābhasya vyūha* or the like in the original texts of the Chinese, Tibetan translations as well as in the older Sanskrit manuscripts, and the name *Sukhāvattvyūha*, which appears only in the Sanskrit manuscripts, was added to it later as its subtitle.

⁸ The Chinese translation No. 362 goes by the title of *Amituo Sanyesānfo Salou{fo}tan Guodu Rendao jing* 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓{佛}檀過度人道經 —— the second *fo* 佛 is to be deleted according to ancient catalogues ——, while some editions read *Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經 instead. The original form of the longer title as well as its meaning are enigmatic. Now, I am inclined to agree with Prof. Chen Jinhua's hypothesis (personal communication, May 2003) that 薩樓{佛}檀 is a corruption of *hélóugèn* 盧樓亘, which is an incomplete transliteration of *Avalokitasvara*. This title, then, may mean that “*Amitā(b)ha* **samyāsambuddha* (and) *Avalokitasvara* save human beings.” This was probably *not* the original Indian title, but rather added by somebody in China, summarising the contents of the sutra —— according to this sutra (309a14f.), after *Amitā(b)ha*'s *parinirvāṇa*, *Avalokitasvara* will succeed him as a Buddha and begin to rescue (*guòdù* 過度) human beings and other various sentient beings as *Amitā(b)ha* does. The title *Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經, as some editions read, might have been the original translation of the title of its underlying text, which was presumably **Amitāha*(< *Amitābha*)-*vyūha*. Only after the appearance of the translation of the *Smaller Sukhāvattvyūha* by Kumārajīva, which was eventually entitled *Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經 (T. 12, no. 366) as well, was the character 大 “larger” added to the title of No. 362 in order to differentiate it from No. 366 and thus, the more familiar title *Da Amituo jing* 大阿彌陀經 came into being. In this article, I shall, therefore, use the designation “(*Da*) *Amituo jing* (大)阿彌陀經” for No. 362.

versions in Chinese, Sanskrit and Tibetan. Therefore, it is clear that one of these is a modification of the other. Although all the existing catalogues ascribe No. 362 to Zhi Qian (fl. ca. 220~257 C.E.) and No. 361 to Lokakṣema (fl. ca. 170~190 C.E.), it is apparent that the latter is a modification of the former and not vice versa. Frequent occurrences of transliterated words agree with Lokakṣema's writing style, while changing transliterated words into Chinese was common practice with Zhi Qian. Therefore, I agree with Paul Harrison that No. 362 is Lokakṣema's translation, while No. 361 is Zhi Qian's⁹.

Although adapting or modifying an existing translation may seem counter-productive, the translators of Buddhist scriptures were not scholars or professional translators who made their living out of translating. Rather, they were Buddhist monks or laymen who devoted themselves to the dissemination of Buddhism. If a translation is difficult to understand, even though it may be true to its original text, people will not accept it easily. Therefore, it is easy to hypothesise that Zhi Qian and others replaced old-fashioned, vernacular and unnatural words and expressions in these older translations with elegant, contemporary and more natural ones. Their purpose must have been to attract ordinary people as well as intellectuals, so as to introduce Buddhism to Chinese lay people. In this respect, I fully understand and praise their endeavours and achievements. From another point of view, that of the history of the Chinese language, their modifications offer us valuable material for research. As the example I focus on here, if we examine how Zhi Qian and Zhu Fonian modified Lokakṣema's *Daoxing Banre jing* 道行般若經, while comparing their translations with the later one of Kumārajīva as well, we will find ourselves able to trace some of the changes and developments undergone by the Chinese language from the Eastern Han Dynasty to the Jin Dynasty.

Hereafter, I shall give some examples to demonstrate such changes and developments in Buddhist literature.

(1.1) From 黠 to 慧, 智

The character 黠 (*xiá*) means not only “cunning” in a negative sense, but also “wise, clever; wisdom” in a positive meaning. While instances of the latter usage is quite rare in secular texts,¹⁰ Lokakṣema seems to have been fond of using this word. In his *Daoxing Banre jing* 道行般若經 (Lk), this word with its latter meaning occurs 46 times. Zhi Qian, however, replaced it with *hui* 慧 or *zhi* 智 in many places and as a result, in the latter five *juans* of his *Da Mingdu jing* 大明度經 (ZQ), the word *xiá* 黠 occurs only 10 times — as the first *juan* of this translation is apparently not his translation¹¹, it is excluded from my calculations from here on. In Kumārajīva's *Xiaopin Banreboluomi jing* 小品般若波羅蜜經 (Kj), this word does not appear at all.

E.g. :

Lk.447a14f. “譬若男子得象，觀其脚。於須菩提意云何？是男子爲黠不？”須菩提

⁹ Cf. Harrison 2002:179~181. The counter-arguments by Fujita (2007: 39f.), who credits it to Zhi Qian, are awkward.

¹⁰ The *Hanyu Dacidian* 漢語大詞典 quotes examples from the *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 and the *Houhanshu* 後漢書 (HD.12.1363a[1]).

¹¹ Cf. note 1.

言：“爲不點。”

ZQ.490c2. 點(←點); Kj.556a19. 智; Xz(I).810c16. 點; Sh.625a22. 智

Lk.455c27f. 是菩薩住中正，在阿惟越致地，心不可移動心大無有極，安隱堅住其地，無有能降之者。作是住，無有能過是點者。

ZQ.495c13.-(無能過者); Zfn.528b17.-(無有能過); Kj.565c1. (不可壞)智慧; Xz(I).828b12. (無動無退轉)智 = Xz(II).902c9; Sh.643b24. (不壞)智

Lk.466c9f. 譬如工匠點師剋(v.l. 刻)作機關木人，若作雜畜。木人不能自起居，因對而搖。木人不作是念言：“我當動搖，屈伸低仰，令觀者歡欣。”

ZQ.501c13. 工匠點師; Kj.576a16. 工匠; Xz(I).851a8. 巧匠 = Xz(II).915c7; Sh.661c18. 工巧師

Lk.467b23f. 諸天讚歎善之：“今作佛不久。當隨是法教立。既隨是法教立者，諸有困苦者皆得護；諸未得歸者爲得自歸；爲人故作法舍；無目者使得點目。”

ZQ.502a22. 慧眼; Kj.576c7. 光明 = Xz(I).852c26 = Xz(II).916b8 = Sh.662c18

Lk.475b8f. 般若波羅蜜者，..... (c4f.)亦入於好中，亦入於不好中，亦入於善中，亦入於不善中，亦入於點中，亦入於不點中，亦入於明中，亦入於不明中，.....

ZQ.506c4. 智不智

Lk.476b21f. 所以作佛像者，但欲使人得其福耳。不用一事成佛像，亦不用二事成。有金，有點人，若有見佛時人。

ZQ.507a27. 智(人)

Lk.477c7f. 諸所有經法，阿難！若干種所見相、種種所行、若干種根、若干種點、若干種癡、若干種慧、人民輩所求盡、所求慧、怛薩阿竭，悉都盧，阿難！悉從般若波羅蜜中出。

ZQ.508a1.-

Lk.437a18f. 般若波羅蜜當點慧學。其福倍益多。

ZQ.486a6. 景明; Zfn.518c27. 點慧; Kj.546c10.-; Xz(II).879b20. 善知(義趣)

Lk.455c7f. 菩薩.....(c17f.)從欲處、色處、空處，從彼間來生中國，常於善人點慧中生，在工談語、曉經書家生。

ZQ.495c6. 大明(卿八正談)(?); Zfn.528a28. 點慧; Kj.565b13. 善(於伎藝) = Xz(I).828a24 = Xz(II).902b23; Sh.643b6. 明解(世間經書.....)

Lk.476c18f. 賢者！欲知：佛身因緣所生。用世間人欲得見佛故。其人前世有功德，其人遠離八惡處生，其人點慧信於佛。

ZQ.507b17. 慧(信於佛)

(1.2) From 曉 to 知

In the *Daoxing Banre jing* (Lk), the word *xiǎo* 曉, meaning “knows”, occurs 53 times, while in the *Da Mingdu jing* (ZQ; excluding the first *juan*), it occurs only 16 times. However, in the *Xiaopin Banreboluomi jing* (Kj), it does not occur at all and, instead, its synonym *zhī* 知 is used. E.g.:

Lk.465a15f. 未得道者，愚癡，不曉是法，不見是事。

ZQ.500c27f. 未得道者，愚癡，不曉是法，不見其事。; Kj.574b7f. 凡夫不知不見一切法本清淨相。

(1.3) From 索 to 求

In the *Daoxing Banre jing* (Lk), the word *suǒ* 索, meaning “pursues, seeks after”, occurs 92 times, while in the *Da Mingdu jing* (ZQ; excluding the first *juan*), it occurs 56 times. In the *Xiaopin Banreboluomi jing* (Kj), this word, however, does not occur at all and, instead, its synonym *qiú* 求 is used. E.g.:

Lk.470c23f. 須菩提白佛言：“薩陀波倫菩薩本何因緣索般若波羅蜜？”

ZQ.503c-4. 彼何因索明度？； Kj.580a-5f. 薩陀波倫菩薩云何求般若波羅蜜？；

Sh.668a24f. 常啼菩薩摩訶薩作何方便，而能求是般若波羅蜜多？

(1.4) Lokakṣema 我 > Zhi Qian 吾 > Zhu Fonian and Kumārajīva 我

Throughout the *Daoxing Banre jing* (Lk), Lokakṣema used *wǒ* 我 as the first person pronoun, meaning “I”, while, in many places, Zhi Qian (ZQ) replaced it with *wú* 吾. In Zhu Fonian’s *Mohebanre chao jing* 摩訶般若鈔經 (Zfn) and Kumārajīva’s *Xiaopin Banreboluomi jing* (Kj), again, *wǒ* 我 is used. According to my calculations, the number of occurrences of the two words, meaning “I” are as follows:

我	<i>Daoxing Banre jing</i> (Lk)	375 times
	<i>Da Mingdu jing</i> (excluding the first <i>juan</i>) (ZQ)	224 times
	<i>Mohebanre chao jing</i> (Zfn)	170 times
	<i>Xiaopin Banreboluomi jing</i> (Kj)	432 times
吾	<i>Daoxing Banre jing</i> (Lk)	0
	<i>Da Mingdu jing</i> (excluding the first <i>juan</i>) (ZQ)	20 times
	<i>Mohebanre chao jing</i> (Zfn)	0
	<i>Xiaopin Banreboluomi jing</i> (Kj)	0

E.g.:

Lk.461c19f. 使我無得生是惡心。一切使我心無瑕穢。我設有是不善，疾使我棄。

ZQ.499b4f. 使吾無生穢濁惡心； Zfn.534c17. 使我無得生是惡心； Kj.571b13f. 我當如是勸行精進，得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提時，無如是惡； Xz(I).839b11. 我不應起如彼惡人所起過患 = Xz(II).910a18; Sh.653c18f. 願我當於一切時一切處遠離如是一切魔事

Lk.473a14f. 自念言：“我曹義不可於車上載。當下步入國耳。”

ZQ.505a28. 吾等義當下車步行入城； Kj.583b14f. 我等不應載車趣曇無竭菩薩； Sh.672c12. 我等

Lk.473b10f. 薩陀波倫菩薩及五百女人……(13f.)爲曇無竭菩薩作禮。遶八百匝已，作是言：“我曹亦當復逮得尊經，亦當復如是。”

ZQ.505b13. 願吾等進高行獲尊經； Kj.583c18f. 我等以是善根因緣於未來世當得作佛； Sh.673b12. 我

Lk.474b-8f. 是時弊魔自念言：“未嘗有是。未嘗見是。是薩陀波倫菩薩……得道者，出我界，度脫人不可計。今我且中道壞之(read 乎?)。”

ZQ.506a9. 吾當壞乎(←子)。

It is generally said that *wú* 吾 is a classical and formal expression, while *wǒ* 我 is a more casual term and that is perhaps why Zhi Qian modified it.

In other translations, ascribed to Lokakṣema with certainty, the first person pronoun *wú* 吾, meaning “I”, never occurs:

- No. 280: *Dousha jing* 兜沙經: 我(43 times); 吾(0)
 No. 313: *Achufoguo jing* 阿閼佛國經: 我(122 times); 吾(0)
 No. 350: *Yiyue Monibao jing* 遺日(←日)摩尼寶經: 我(41 times); 吾(1 time)¹²
 No. 807: *Neicang Baibao jing* 內藏百寶經: 我(3 times); 吾(0)

On the other hand, in Zhi Qian's translations, *wú* 吾 occurs quite often:

- No. 6: *Bannihuan jing* 般泥洹經: 我(87 times); 吾(42 times)
 No. 185: *Taizi Ruiying Benqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經: 我(85 times); 吾(39 times)
 No. 281: *Pusa Benye jing* 菩薩本業經: 我(4 times); 吾(1 time)
 No. 474: *Weimojie jing* 維摩詰經: 我(173 times); 吾(39 times)
 No. 632: *Huiyin Sanmei jing* 慧印三昧經: 我(44 times); 吾(12 times)
 No. 198: *Yizu jing* 義足經: 我(146 times); 吾(4 times)

Dharmarakṣa used *wú* 吾 more often than Zhi Qian.

- No. 222: *Guangzan jing* 光讚經: 我(255 times); 吾(89 times)
 No. 266: *Aweiyuezhizhe jing* 阿惟越致遮經: 我(53 times); 吾(85 times)
 No. 263: *Zheng Fahua jing* 正法華經: 我(247 times); 吾(213 times)
 No. 285: *Jianbei Yiqiezhide jing* 漸備一切智德經: 我(47 times); 吾(48 times)
 No. 292: *Dushipin jing* 度世品經: 我(32 times); 吾(46 times)
 No. 381: *Dengjizhongde Sanmei jing* 等集衆德三昧經: 我(38 times); 吾(26 times)

In contrast to Zhi Qian and Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva scarcely used *wú* 吾 as the first person pronoun.

- No. 286: *Shizhu jing* 十住經: 我(121 times); 吾(0)
 No. 223: *Mohe Banreboluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經:
 我(1186 times); 吾(9 times: all “吾我” *ātman*)
 No. 382: *Ji Yiqie Fude Sanmei jing* 集一切福德三昧經: 我(76 times); 吾(1 time)
 No. 1509: *Da Zhidu lun* 大智度論: 我(3838 times); 吾(68 times: all “吾我” *ātman*)
 No. 475: *Weimojie Suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經: 我(215 times); 吾(9 times)¹³
 Cf. Zhi Qian's *Weimojie jing* 維摩詰經: 我(173 times); 吾(39 times)
 No. 262: *Miaofa Lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經: 我(621 times); 吾(11 times)¹⁴

¹² 吾, rendering of Skt. *ātman* or *pudgala*, occurs in the following phrase: 無吾、無我、無人。

¹³ All the nine instances of *wú* 吾 in No. 475 (Kj) are none other than borrowings from Zhi Qian's translation of the same sutra, namely the *Weimojie jing* 維摩詰經 (No.474; abbr. ZQ): T.14, No.475, Kj.541a27f. 我即答言: “仁者! 吾見此釋迦牟尼佛土三千大千世界如觀掌中菴摩勒果。” = T.14, No.474, ZQ.522c29f. 我答言: “仁者! 吾於是三千大千佛國, 如於掌中觀掌冠耳。”; Kj.542c13f. 答我言: “吾從道場來。” = ZQ.524a24f.; Kj. 544c7f. 一切衆魔及諸外道皆吾侍也 = ZQ.525c23f. 一切衆魔皆是吾養, 彼諸轉者亦吾養也; Kj. 546b17. 此座高廣, 吾不能昇 = ZQ.527b6f. 此座爲高廣, 吾不能昇; Kj. 548a10f. 解脫者無所言說。故吾於是不知所云 = ZQ.528c7f. 眞解者無所言取。故吾於是不知所云; Kj. 548b1. 吾止此室十有二年 = ZQ.528c23f. 十有二年吾止此室; Kj. 548c10f. 佛化所生, 吾如彼生 = ZQ.529a29f.; Kj. 555b18f. 吾當不起于座接妙喜國鐵圍、山川、溪谷、江河…… = ZQ.535a4f. 吾當止此師子座不起, 爲現妙樂世界鐵圍、山川、溪谷、江湖……; Kj. 556a13f. 佛言: “善哉, 善哉! 天帝! 如汝所說。吾助爾喜。” = ZQ.535b21f. 佛言: “善哉, 善哉! 天帝! 吾代汝喜。”

¹⁴ Compared with the other translations by Kumārajīva, in which the word *wú* 吾 as the first person pronoun is hardly ever used, in his translation of the Lotus Sutra, namely the *Miaofa lianhua jing* (T.9, No.262, abbr. Kj), the word occurs fairly frequently — 11 times. Also, among these 11 occurrences, only one is an apparent borrowing from Dharmarakṣa's pre-existing translation of the same sutra (T.9, No.263, abbr. Dr), in which the

Cf. Dharmarakṣa's *Zheng fahua jing* 正法華經: 我(247 times); 吾(213 times)

The distinction between the translators, who hardly used *wú* 吾 in such a way and those who preferred its use is so clear-cut that we can employ this as a criterion for identifying the translators of disputed translations. For example, there have been arguments over whether the *Asheshiwang jing* 阿闍世王經 (No. 626) and the *Dun Zhentuoluo Suowen Rulai Sanmei jing* 佉真陀羅所問如來三昧經 (No. 624) are indeed Lokakṣema's translations, as the Chinese catalogues state. In these translations, the word *wú* 吾 occurs quite often.

No. 626: *Asheshiwang jing* 阿闍世王經: 我(132 times); 吾(20 times)

No. 624: *Dun Zhentuoluo Suowen Rulai Sanmei jing* 佉真陀羅所問如來三昧經:
我(66 times); 吾(18 times)

Therefore, we may conclude that they were *not* Lokakṣema's original translations.

As another example, the *Pusa Shizhu Xingdao pin* 菩薩十住行道品 (No. 283) is ascribed to Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 in the catalogues, while some modern scholars assume that it was translated by Lokakṣema. In this translation, the word *wǒ* 我 occurs 12 times, while *wú* 吾 does not appear at all. Therefore, we may assume that this translation was not by Dharmarakṣa, who was fond of using *wú* 吾, but indeed probably by Lokakṣema.

At this point, we shall return to the argument concerning the translators of the two oldest Chinese translations of the so-called *Sukhāvativyūha*.

No. 361: *Wuliangqingjing Pingdengjue jing* 無量清淨平等覺經:
我(177 times); 吾(4 times)

No. 362: (*Da*) *Amituo jing* (大)阿彌陀經: 我(118 times); 吾(0)

The occurrences of *wú* 吾 in No. 361 reinforce the above-mentioned judgement that No. 362 should be ascribed to Lokakṣema, while No. 361 properly belongs to Zhi Qian. Also, it should be noted that all the four occurrences of *wú* 吾 in No. 361 are to be found in the verses¹⁵ which are wanting in No. 362 and, therefore, correctly believed to be a later

word occurs 213 times: Kj.12c26f. 今此幼童皆是吾子, 愛無偏黨 = Dr.75b28f. 今此幼童皆是吾子, 寵敬等愛, 意無偏黨. The other instances differ from the sentences in Dharmarakṣa's translation: Kj.5c1f. 吾從成佛已來, 種種因緣、種種譬喻廣演言教 ≠ Dr.68a6.-; Kj.7a6f. 吾當為汝分別解說 ≠ Dr.69b18. 吾當解說; Kj.11b9f. 吾今於天、人、沙門、婆羅門等大衆中說 ≠ Dr.74a22f. 今吾班告天上世間沙門、梵志、諸天、人民、阿須倫; Kj.14b22f. 吾為汝等 造作此車 隨意所樂 可以遊戲 ≠ Dr.77b17f. 遊戲之具 子所好慕 吾皆辦之 調隱音節; Kj.14c20f. 一切衆生 皆是吾子 深著世樂 無有慧心 ≠ Dr.77c24f. 一切衆底 皆是我子 為三界欲 所見纏縛; Kj.14c26f. 今此三界 皆是我有 其中衆生 悉是吾子 ≠ Dr.77c29f. 則常應時 將護三處 彼見燒炙 皆斯(v.l. 斯皆)吾子; Kj.15a15f. 告, 舍利弗! 汝諸人等 皆是吾子 我則是父 ≠ Dr.78b2f. 佛則於彼 諸仁(←人)者父; Kj.17b10f. 此是我子, 我之所生. 於某城中, 捨吾逃走, 伶俜辛苦五十餘年. 其本字某. 我名某甲. 此實我子. 我實其父. ≠ Dr.80c21f. 斯是吾子, 則吾所生. 名字為某. 捨我流迸二三十年. 今乃相得. 斯則吾子. 吾則是父. ; Kj.22a17. 吾今當說 汝等善聽 ≠ Dr.88b15.-; Kj.31a25. 吾滅後惡世 能持是經者 ≠ Dr.88b15.-. It is presumable that Kumārajīva's assistant(s) or somebody in his translating team of the Lotus Sutra preferred the classical form *wú* 吾. The word *wú* 吾 occurs three times also in the chapter, *Devadatta (Tipodaduo pin 提婆達多品)*, of the text in question (No.262): 34b24f. 吾於過去無量劫中, 求法華經無有懈倦 = Dr.105a28f. 吾往無數難稱限劫, 求法華經; 34c2f. 誰能為我說大乘者, 吾當終身供給走使 = Dr.105b4f. 有能為吾演天典者, 吾當為僕, 供給走使; 34c16. 若能修行者 吾當為汝說 ≠ Dr.105b16.-. However, this chapter is not a translation by Kumārajīva but a later interpolation (cf. Karashima 1992: 332, 2001: 393).

¹⁵ T.12, No.361, (translated by Zhi Qian?: abbr. ZQ[?]).280b21. 吾誓得佛者 普逮得此事; 288b11. 吾等類得是德 諸此利獲所好; 288b24. 佛授盧樓亘決 今吾說仁諦聽; 288c02. 吾所願皆具足 從衆國來生者. These verses are wanting in the (*Da*) *Amituo jing*.

interpolated part.

(1.5) Lokakṣema 汝 > Zhi Qian and Zhu Fonian 若 > Kumārajīva 汝

In the *Daoxing Banre jing* 道行般若經, Lokakṣema used *rǔ* 汝 and *ruò* 若 to mean “you” side-by-side, while Zhi Qian and Zhu Fonian altered *rǔ* 汝 in the Lk to *ruò* 若 in their translations of the same text. Therefore, as a result, the number of occurrences of *rǔ* 汝 in their translations is drastically reduced. Kumārajīva used *rǔ* 汝 again in his translation.

汝	<i>Daoxing Banre jing</i> 道行般若經 (Lk)	100 times
	<i>Da Mingdu jing</i> 大明度經 (ZQ; excluding the first <i>juan</i>)	3 times
	<i>Mohebanre chao jing</i> 摩訶般若鈔經 (Zfn)	4 times
	<i>Xiaopin Banreboluomi jing</i> 小品般若經 (Kj)	176 times

E.g.:

Lk.454c29f. 弊魔復化作其師被服，往到菩薩所，詭語：“若(“you”)前從我所聞受者，今悉棄捨！是皆不可用也。若(“you”)自悔過。若(←受)疾悔之，隨我言者，我日來問訊汝。不用我言者，終不復來視汝。若(“you”)莫復說是事，我不復欲聞。

ZQ.495a10f. 若疾悔之，隨我言者，我日來問訊。不用我言，終不復來。莫復說此事，我不欲聞。； Zfn. 527b3f. 若疾悔之，隨我言者，我日日自來問訊若。設不用我言者，我終不復來相視。若(“you”)莫復說是語。； Kj.564b25f. 汝若捨離，不復聽受，我當常至汝所。汝所聞者非佛所說

Lk.468c10f. 佛語阿難：“持是般若波羅蜜囑累汝。阿難！我爲汝所說經，捨置般若波羅蜜、摩訶漚瑟拘舍羅及諸摩訶惟日羅，我每所說餘經汝所受。……”

ZQ.502c16f. 持是明度囑累若(v.l. 汝)，我所說餘經若所受； Kj.577c18. 我今以般若波羅蜜囑累於汝

Lk.468c23f. 汝設有慈心於佛者，當受持般若波羅蜜，當恭敬、作禮、供養。……汝慈孝於佛，恭敬、思念於佛，不如恭敬於般若波羅蜜。

ZQ.502c21. 若慈孝於佛； Kj.577c29. 汝若愛重不捨於我； Xz(I).855c17. 汝若愛樂於我不捨於我 = Xz(II).918a22

Lk.468c25f. 囑累汝般若波羅蜜，以爲信。

ZQ.502c22. 囑累若； Kj.578a9. 以般若波羅蜜囑累於汝

Lk.469a6. 汝日日教人。

ZQ.502c26. 若日(←日)教人； Kj.578a28. 汝若因小乘法爲小乘人說； Xz(I).856a26. 假使汝爲聲聞乘人說聲聞法 = Xz(II).918b28

However, Zhi Qian and Zhu Fonian used *rǔ* 汝 quite often in their translations of other texts.

Zhi Qian

No. 6: <i>Bannihuan jing</i> 般泥洹經, 2 <i>juans</i> :	51 times
No. 68: <i>Laizhaheluo jing</i> 賴吒和羅經, 1 <i>juan</i> :	31 times
No. 185: <i>Taizi Ruiying Benqi jing</i> 太子瑞應本起經, 2 <i>juans</i> :	32 times
No. 198: <i>Yizu jing</i> 義足經, 2 <i>juans</i> :	28 times
No. 474: <i>Weimojie jing</i> 維摩詰經, 2 <i>juans</i> :	49 times

Zhu Fonian

No. 212: <i>Chuyao jing</i> 出曜經, 30 <i>juans</i> :	394 times
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No. 309: *Zuisheng Wen Pusashizhu Chugouduanjie jing*

最勝問菩薩十住除垢斷結經, 10 juans: 66 times

No. 385: *Zhongyin jing* 中陰經, 2 juans: 47 times

No. 384: *Pusa Cong Doushutian Jiangshen Mutai Shuo Guangpu jing*

菩薩從兜術天降神母胎說廣普經, 7 juans: 146 times

It is not clear why Zhi Qian and Zhu Fonian changed *rǔ* 汝 in the Lk to *ruò* 若 so drastically.

In the *(Da) Amituo jing* (大)阿彌陀經 (No. 362, perhaps a translation of Lokakṣema?; abbr. Lk[?]), the word *rǔ* 汝 occurs 15 times, of which nine are altered to *ruò* 若 in the *Wuliangqingjing Pingdengjue jing* 無量清淨平等覺經 (No. 361, by Zhi Qian?; abbr. ZQ[?]):

Lk(?).300a-2f. 有諸天神教汝？若諸佛教汝令(←今)問我者耶？汝自從善意出問佛耶？

ZQ(?).279c14f. 有諸天來教汝？諸佛教汝令問我耶？若自從智出乎？

Lk(?).300b7f. 汝所問者，甚深大快，多所度脫

ZQ(?).279c20. 若所問者，甚深快善，多所度脫。

Lk(?).300b12f. 汝所問者甚深，汝乃慈心於佛所，……

ZQ(?).279c24f. 若所問者大深，汝乃慈心於佛所，……

Lk(?).311a18f. 我皆語汝曹：諸欲往生阿彌陀佛國者，……

ZQ(?).293a7f. 我皆語若曹：諸欲生無量清淨佛國，……

Lk(?).312c15f. 我皆語汝曹(←造)，……汝曹熟思惟之。

ZQ(?).294c2f. 我皆語若曹，……若曹熟思惟之。

Lk(?).312c26f. 儻有疑意不解經者，復前問佛。爲汝解之。

ZQ(?).294c12f. 儻有疑意不解經者，復前問佛。佛當爲若解之。

Lk(?).317a7. 汝欲知者，明聽著心中。

ZQ(?).299a8f. 若欲知者，明聽著心中。

Lk(?).317c3f. 我般泥洹去後，汝曹及後世人，無得復言：“我不信有阿彌陀佛國。”

ZQ(?).299c6f. 我般泥洹去後{故}，若曹及後世人，無得復言：“我不信有無量清淨佛國。”

There is, however, one place, where *ruòcáo* 若曹 occurs three times consecutively in No. 362 (abbr. Lk[?]) but is replaced by *rǔcáo* 汝曹 in No. 361 (abbr. ZQ[?]):

Lk(?).317c6f. 我具爲若曹道說經戒、慎法。若曹當如佛法持之，無得毀失。我持是經以累若曹，若曹當堅持之。

ZQ(?).299c9f. 我具爲汝曹道說經戒、慎(←順)法。若曹當如佛法持之，無得毀失。我持是經以累汝曹，汝曹當堅持之。

Except for the last instance which is contrary to the normal trend and, therefore, rather puzzling, the other examples clearly demonstrate that the translator of No. 361 replaced *rǔ* 汝 in No. 362 with *ruò* 若. This modification agrees with that in Zhi Qian's *Da Mingdu jing* 大明度經. From this and various other evidence mentioned above, we may conclude that the *(Da) Amituo jing* (大)阿彌陀經 was translated by Lokakṣema, while the *Wuliangqingjing Pingdengjue jing* 無量清淨平等覺經 is Zhi Qian's modification of the former.

Above, I have introduced a methodology in order to survey the development of the Chinese language, focussing on ordinary words and expressions, those I have rendered “wise”, “seek”, “I” and “you”, in different translations of the same text. Such words may reflect the actual language of the translators rather than Buddhist terminology which was often continually reused. I believe it is possible to apply this method quite easily in a study of a broader range of Chinese translations.

(2) Noteworthy words in the *Daoxing Banre jing*: 慈 = 孝

In Lokakṣema's *Daoxing Banre jing* 道行般若經, one can find quite a few noteworthy words and usages. The usage of *cí* 慈 is one such good example.

This word, which usually means “(a senior person) loves (a junior person)”, is used sporadically in the meaning of “filial piety and respect for one's parents”. The *Hanyu Dacidian* 漢語大詞典 (HD.7.647) quotes the following instances from the *Zhuangzi*, the *Liji* and Wang Yinglin's *Kunxuejiwen*: 《莊子·漁父》：“事親則慈孝。”；《禮記·內則》：“父子皆異宮，昧爽而朝，慈以旨甘。”(Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 commented on the word as follows: “慈，愛敬進之也。”)；王應麟《困學紀聞·左氏傳》：“子之於親亦曰慈。” In the Chinese Classics and non-Buddhist literature, the instances of *cí* 慈 used in this specific sense are very rare.

In the *Daoxing Banre jing* (Lk) and in its "sinicised" version, namely the *Da Mingdu jing* (ZQ), however, we find many examples of *cí* 慈, *cíxiào* 慈孝, *cíxīn* 慈心 and so on, meaning “respect for (the Buddha or the Buddha's Dharma)”.

(2.1) *cí* 慈¹⁶

Lk.434c5f. 不解於法中，諸天人適欲問法師，天神語之。用慈於法中故。其人即自了知諸天所不解者，便自解。

AS.42.3 = R.83.21 = AAA.252.6f. *dharmā-gauravena* (“through respect for the Dharma”); ZQ.484c29. 用慈於經中; Zfn.516c6. 用慈(←茲)法故; Kj.544b22. 恭敬法故

Lk.477c13f. 佛語阿難：“汝敬我所語，敬我法。若敬愛承事我。汝自敬身於佛。汝有慈於佛。汝有孝於佛，一切恭敬於佛所。汝持是慈孝恭敬於般若波羅蜜中。如是，阿難！汝恭敬於是中，悉爲供養諸佛已。……”

AS.260.23f. = R.528.12f. = AAA.990.13f. *paricarito 'smi ... tvayā maitrena kāyakarmanā manaāpena maitrena vākkarmanā manaāpena maitrena manahkarmanā manaāpena ... tvayā mamaitarhi tiṣṭhato dhriyamānasya yāpayato 'smin samucchrāye prema ca prasādaś ca gauravam ca kṛtam* (“You have served me with friendly and pleasing acts of body, speech and mind. ... you have given affection, faith and respect to me as I am at present in this incarnation”); ZQ.508a4f. 若敬我所說法，爲敬事我。若自敬身，有慈孝於佛。； Zfn.-; Kj.586b23f. 汝以身口意業，於今現在供養、恭敬、尊重於我。

Lk.478a23f. 佛從袈裟中出金色臂，舉右手，著阿難頭上，摩阿難頭。持手著阿難肩上，語阿難言：“云何，阿難！汝慈於佛不？” 阿難言：“佛、天中天！自

¹⁶ Cf. Krsh 2010: 90~91.

當知。” 如是至三。佛復問阿難：“云何，阿難！汝孝於佛不？” 如是復三。阿難言佛：“天中天！自當知。” 佛言：“如是，阿難！汝有慈於佛，所以爲報佛恩。阿難！汝極尊般若波羅蜜，致重敬慈於是句。心所念句當令了了分明。心所念，餘悉棄之，……”

ZQ.508a28f. 若慈於佛不？…… 若以弘慈報<佛>恩備矣。; Zfn.-; Kj.-

(2.2) *cíxīn* 慈心¹⁷

Lk.468c19f. 今佛現在。有慈心佛恩德，欲報佛恩，具足供養者。汝設有慈心於佛者，當受持般若波羅蜜，當恭敬、作禮、供養。…… 汝慈孝於佛，恭敬、思念於佛，不如恭敬於般若波羅蜜。

AS.228.15 = AAA.871.3. *hitaiṣitayā premato vā gauravato vā* (“with solicitude, affection, respect”); ZQ.502c20. (若有)慈心(於佛者); Zfn.-; Kj.577c25. (欲)以慈心(恭敬供養我者); Xz(I).855c5. (起)殷淨心 = Xz(II).918a12; Sh.664b29. (於我生)歡喜心

(2.3) *cíxiào* 慈孝¹⁸

Lk.468c20f. 汝設有慈心於佛者，當受持般若波羅蜜，當恭敬、作禮、供養。…… 汝慈孝於佛，恭敬、思念於佛，不如恭敬於般若波羅蜜。

AS.228.22 = AAA.871.13. *yadī te ... ahaṃ priyo manāpo 'parityaktas tathāgatas* (If I, being the *Tathāgata*, am dear and pleasing to you, and you do not abandon me”); ZQ.502c21f. 若慈孝於佛; Zfn.-; Kj.577c29f. 汝若愛重不捨於我; Xz(I).855c17f. 汝若愛樂於我不捨於我 = Xz(II).918a22f.; Sh.664c3f. 若人於我愛樂不捨者

Lk.474c5f. 是時薩陀波倫菩薩及五百女人各自取刀，處處刺身出血，持用灑地。用慈孝於經法故。是時釋提桓因自念言：“世間乃有是人耶！精進，恭敬慈孝經師故。”

AS.258.10 = AAA.984.5. *dharma-kāma*~ (“love for the Dharma”); ZQ.506a16f. 用慈於法故…… 恭敬慈孝於師; Zfn.-; Kj.585c13. 愛法; Xz(I).-; Xz(II).-; Sh.675b28. 求法

Lk.477c13f. 佛語阿難：“汝敬我所語，敬我法。若敬愛承事我。汝自敬身於佛。汝有慈於佛。汝有孝於佛，一切恭敬於佛所。汝持是慈孝恭敬於般若波羅蜜中。如是，阿難！汝恭敬於是中，悉爲供養諸佛已。……”

ZQ.508a5. 持是奉事明度

Lk.477c28f. 佛語阿難：“是般若波羅蜜汝諦受，諦念。用慈孝於佛故。承用教故。都廬是過去、當來、今現在佛、天中天所施教。……”

ZQ.508a11. 用慈孝於佛故

Cíxiào 慈孝 in the above-quoted sentences is a compound of two synonyms, meaning “(filial) respect”.

(2.4) *zhòngjìngcí* 重敬慈¹⁹

Lk.478a29f. 阿難！汝極尊般若波羅蜜，致重敬慈於是句。心所念句當令了了分明。心所念，餘悉棄之，一切心於是中。

¹⁷ Cf. Krsh 2010: 92~93.

¹⁸ The *Hanyu Dacidian* quotes the following example from the *Guoyu*: 《國語·齊語》：“於子之屬，有居處爲義好學，慈孝於父母，……。” (HD.7.647). Cf. also Krsh 2010: 92.

¹⁹ Cf. Krsh 2010: 650~651; T. 8, no. 221, 105a11f. 阿難！汝若恭敬慈於我者，當恭敬慈於般若波羅蜜。

ZQ.508b2f. 尊奉明法恭矣。受經義句，當令分明心所念

Zhòngjìngcí 重敬慈 in the above-quoted sentence is also a compound of three synonyms, meaning “respect”.

(2.5) *cíxīn* 慈心, *xiàoci* 孝慈 and *cíxiào* 慈孝 in the *(Da) Amituo jing* (大)阿彌陀經

Also, in the *(Da) Amituo jing* (大)阿彌陀經 (No. 362; abbr. Lk[?]) and the *Wuliangqingjing Pingdengjue jing* 無量清淨平等覺經 (No. 361; abbr. ZQ[?]), *cíxīn* 慈心 and *xiàoci* 孝慈, both meaning “respect”, occur quite often.

(2.5.1) *cíxīn* 慈心

This expression occurs 18 and 17 times in No. 362 and No. 361, respectively. E.g.:

Lk(?).300b10f. 佛言阿難：“……汝所問者甚深。汝乃慈心於佛所。……”

ZQ(?).279c24f. 若所問者大深，汝乃慈心於佛所

Lk(?).313a2f. 我曹聽佛經語，莫不慈心歡喜踊躍開解者。= ZQ(?).294c18f.

Lk(?).313a7f. 佛甚難得<值，經道甚難得>聞，我曹皆(←比)慈心於佛所。

ZQ(?).294c22f. 佛甚難得值，經道甚難得聞，我曹皆慈心於佛所。

Lk(?).313a16f. 佛告阿逸菩薩：“若言是實當爾。若有慈心於佛所者，大喜。實當念佛。……” = ZQ(?).295a2f.

Lk(?).316c12f. 皆悉見阿彌陀佛光明，莫不慈心歡喜者。

ZQ(?).298c16f. 皆悉見無量清淨佛光明，莫不慈心，歡喜作善者。

(2.5.2) *xiàoci* 孝慈

Lk(?).317c12f. 佛言：“師開導人耳目，智慧明達，度脫人，令得善，合泥洹之道。常當孝慈於佛<如>父母，常當念師恩，常念不絕，即得道疾。”

ZQ(?).299c15. 常當慈孝於佛如父母

The expression *xiàoci* 孝慈 is a compound of two synonyms, meaning “filial respect for one’s parents”.²⁰ The translator of No. 361, probably Zhi Qian, altered it to *cíxiào* 慈孝, which we shall now consider.

(2.5.3) *cíxiào* 慈孝

The expression *cíxiào* 慈孝 occurs four times only in the so-called *Wueduan* 五惡段 or “the Paragraph of the Five Evils” in the *(Da) Amituo jing* (No. 362; abbr. Lk[?]). Some scholars consider this paragraph as not a translation from an Indian original but as composed in China. I, also, presume that this is not a translation by Lokakṣema, but a later interpolation probably from No. 361 (abbr. ZQ[?]).

Lk(?).313c14f. 皆其前世宿命，爲善，慈孝，布施恩德。

ZQ(?).295c8f. 皆其前世宿命，爲善，慈孝，布恩施德。

Lk(?).315a12f. 如是曹人男子、女人，心意俱然違戾反逆，……不肯慈孝，惡逆天地。= ZQ(?).297a14f.

Lk(?).315a25. 善人行善慈孝，從樂入樂，從明入明，……

ZQ(?).297a27f. 善人行善，從善慈孝，從樂入樂，從明入明

²⁰ Quoting the following instances of the compound from the *Lunyu*, the *Yizhoushu* and so on: 《論語·為政》：“臨之以莊則敬，孝慈則忠。”(Zhu Xi 朱熹 commented on the word as follows: “孝於親，慈於眾，則民忠於己。”)；《逸周書·官人》：“父子之間，觀其孝慈；兄弟之間，觀其和友。”，the *Hanyu Dacidian* (HD.4.201a) defines the word incorrectly as meaning “respect for elders, love for subordinates or the young” (對尊長孝敬，對下屬或後輩慈愛).

Lk(?).316a6f. 齋戒清淨，莫不歡喜，和順義理，歡樂慈孝，自相約檢， = ZQ
(?).298a12f.

Cíxiào 慈孝 in the above-quoted sentences probably means “affection (for the young) and filial respect (for parents)” and is not a compound of two synonyms, meaning “filial respect”.

In conclusion, the comparison of different Chinese translations of the same text, can shine a light on the development of various aspects of the Chinese language. I hope that students and scholars will pay more attention to early Chinese translations, which are very important materials not only for the study of Buddhism, but also for the research on the Chinese language.

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Kj = Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什

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R = *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, ed. Rajendralala Mitra, Calcutta 1887~1888: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Bibliotheca Indica 110).

Sh = *Fomuchushengsanfazang Banreboluomiduo jing* 佛母出生三法藏般若波羅蜜多經 (T. 8, no. 228), translated by Shihu 施護 or Dānapāla in 982~(?).

T = *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, ed. Junjirō Takakusu, Kaikyoku Watanabe, 100 vols., Tokyo 1924~1934.

v.l. = varia lectio (variant reading)

Xz = Xuanzang 玄奘

Xz(I) = The fourth assemblage (第四會) of the *Da Banreboluomi jing* 大般若波羅蜜經 (T. 7, no. 220, pp. 763~865), translated by Xuanzang 玄奘 in 660~663.

Xz(II) = The fifth assemblage (第五會) of the above-mentioned translation by Xuanzang (T. 7, no. 220, pp. 865~920).

Zfn = Zhu Fonian 竺佛念

ZQ = Zhi Qian 支謙

° = except for letters, following or preceding the sign, the word is the same as the preceding one

- = absence of the parallel(s)

← = $\alpha \leftarrow \beta$: the Chinese character β should be changed to α

{ } = superfluous Chinese character

< > = omitted Chinese character(s)